

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 08070 01 OF 02 192144Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----103170 192150Z /61
O 191740Z JUL 78
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 SECTO 08070

NODIS/CHEROKEE -

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ONLY

SECTO 8070

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: LEEDS CASTLE TALKS

1. THE FIRST FULL DAY OF TALKS AT LEEDS CASTLE WAS
CONSIDERABLY MORE SERIOUS AND USEFUL THAN I HAD ANTICI-
PATED, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT WIDE GAPS REMAIN. IF
ANYTHING, THE CANDOR OF THE DISCUSSION SERVED TO

ILLUMINATE THE WIDTH OF THE GAPS BETWEEN THEM. THE
SETTING WAS PARTICULARLY CONDUCIVE TO INFORMALITY, AND
THE TALK WAS AS FRANK AND OPEN ON THE KEY ISSUES AS
ANY I HAVE HEARD BETWEEN THESE PARTIES. I HAD SEVERAL
CHANCES TO MEET WITH BOTH DAYAN AND KAMEL BEFORE THE
TALKS REALLY BEGAN. BY THEN, BOTH SIDES WERE PRE-
PARED TO MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO EXPLAIN THEIR APPROACH-
ES TO THE WEST BANK/GAZA PROBLEM.

2. DURING SIX HOURS OF TALKS ON TUESDAY, THE EGYPTIAN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 08070 01 OF 02 192144Z

AND ISRAELI DELEGATIONS WENT INTO SUBSTANTIAL DETAIL,
WITH ONLY OCCASIONAL INTERVENTIONS BY ME, CONCERNING
THEIR PROPOSALS. DAYAN LED OFF WITH A CLEAR STATEMENT
THAT THE ISRAELI PLAN WAS NOT A "TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT"
PROPOSITION. HE EMPHASIZED ISRAEL'S READINESS TO
NEGOTIATE. HE THEN TALKED REALISTICALLY ABOUT THE BASIC
APPROACH OF HIS GOVERNMENT, BREAKING NO NEW GROUND,

BUT INDICATING A WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE MANY IDEAS AT GREAT LENGTH. HIS BOTTOM LINE, HOWEVER, REMAINS THAT ISRAEL MUST MAINTAIN A SECURITY PRESENCE IN THE WEST

BANK/GAZA AND THAT ISRAELIS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SETTLE AND ACQUIRE LAND THERE. WHEN KAMEL ASKED HIM, DAYAN SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT COULD SEPARATE SECURITY IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA FROM RETENTION OF TERRITORY. ON THE RIGHT TO SETTLE IN THOSE AREAS, HE SAID THEY MUST NOT BE TREATED AS FOREIGNERS IN THEIR HISTORIC HOMELAND. AT THE SAME TIME, HE INSISTED THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT TO RUN THE LIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS AND WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO RECOMMEND ABOLISHING THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT EVEN IF THERE WERE NO AGREEMENT. AS USUAL, DAYAN TRIED HARD TO FIND OUT IF EGYPT WOULD SIGN AN AGREEMENT CONCERNING SINAI AND THE WEST BANK/GAZA IF JORDAN DID NOT JOIN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE DID NOT GET A CLEAR ANSWER. KAMEL SIMPLY SAID THAT JORDAN WOULD JOIN THE NEGOTIATIONS ONCE ISRAEL AGREED TO WITHDRAW.

3. THE EGYPTIAN SIDE PERFORMED REMARKABLY WELL, LARGE-
LY DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF UNDER SECRETARY EL-BAZ, WHO

MADE A THOROUGH PRESENTATION OF THE THINKING BEHIND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SECTO 08070 01 OF 02 192144Z

THE EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL. BY CONTRAST, KAMEL SPOKE ONLY RARELY, AND AS THE DAY WORE ON HE BECAME INCREASINGLY EXASPERATED WITH DAYAN'S POSITIONS WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE PRESENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE GIVING UP A CLAIM TO THESE TERRITORIES. ON THE WHOLE, THE EGYPTIANS INDICATED A FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, AND PRESENTED THEIR CONCEPT OF A THREE-STAGE SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS DEALING WITH THE WEST BANK. THESE WOULD BEGIN WITH EGYPT AND ISRAEL WORKING OUT BROAD GUIDELINES. IN A SECOND STAGE, JORDAN WOULD JOIN THE NEGOTIATIONS TO ESTABLISH THE TRANSITIONAL REGIME, AND FINALLY, AFTER THE ELECTION OF A PALESTINIAN COUNCIL, PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE INCLUDED TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A FINAL PEACE TREATY. THE EGYPTIANS TALK OF NEGOTIATIONS ON (A) ABOLITION OF THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND ELECTION OF THE PALESTINIAN COUNCIL, AND (B) WITHDRAWAL AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS GOING IN PARALLEL. THE EGYPTIANS ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO SEEING THE MILITARY OCCU-

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 08070 02 OF 02 192238Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----103806 192241Z /61

O 191740Z JUL 78
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 SECTO 08070

NODIS CHEROKEE

PATION ENDED BECAUSE THEY SEE BEGIN'S SELF-RULE PLAN
AS A MEANS OF PERPETUATING THE OCCUPATION UNDER ANOTHER
GUISE.

4. THE ISRAELIS WERE GENERALLY IMPRESSED WITH THE
DEGREE OF SERIOUSNESS DEMONSTRATED BY THE EGYPTIAN
DELEGATION. SEVERAL OF THEM TERMED THE TALKS THE BEST
THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE TO DATE. BOTH SIDES HAVE PUT ON
THE TABLE THE HARD ISSUES ON WHICH THEY DISAGREE --
PRIMARILY WITHDRAWAL AND SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, NEITHER
SIDE WAS IN A POSITION TO NEGOTIATE ON THEM, AND THE
EGYPTIANS FELT FRUSTRATED THAT THEY FOUND NO GIVE
IN THE ISRAELI POSITION. KAMEL HIMSELF BECAME VERY
EMOTIONAL TOWARD THE END. KAMEL BASICALLY FEELS
THAT CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS KIND WILL NOT PRO-
DUCE A CHANGE IN THE ISRAELI POSITION. NONETHELESS,
I FEEL THAT A USEFUL STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN IN GETTING
EACH SIDE TO EXPLAIN IN DEPTH ITS FUNDAMENTAL POSITIONS.
THE QUALITY OF THE DIALOGUE WAS SURPRISINGLY HIGH AND,
WITH ONE EXCEPTION, THE TALKS WERE CONDUCTED WITH TACT
AND RESTRAINT ON BOTH SIDES.

5. WEDNESDAY MORNING I MET SEPARATELY WITH DAYAN AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 08070 02 OF 02 192238Z

KAMEL, AND WE HELD A SUMMING-UP SESSION TOGETHER THIS AFTERNOON. I ARRANGED WITH THEM ARRANGEMENTS ON FOLLOW-ON CONTACTS. THEY WILL DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO ENABLE US TO COME FORWARD WITH IDEAS TO HELP BREAK THE DEADLOCK. WE AGREED TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL REPORT TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND THAT I ANTICIPATE THERE WILL BE FURTHER MEETINGS WHEN I GO TO THE AREA IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS. ATHERTON WILL PRECEDE ME TO HELP PREPARE FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS.

6. IN SUM, THESE TALKS HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIVELY USEFUL, BUT THE GAPS REMAIN WIDE. IN MY STATEMENT TO THE PRESS I WILL DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE QUALITY OF THE EXCHANGES AND THE FACT THAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL CONTINUE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE FACT THAT NO PROGRESS WAS MADE IN NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN THEM, ON THE OTHER. HOWEVER, I WILL NOTE THAT THE HOLDING OF THESE SERIOUS TALKS IS IN A SENSE PROGRESS AND THAT WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL THE NEXT MEETING TO SEE WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN PROGRESS. BY THAT TIME THE PARTIES WILL HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REFLECT ON WHAT HAS BEEN SAID AND MAKE MODIFICATION IN THEIR PROPOSALS. DAYAN SAID AT OUR WRAP UP SESSION THAT HE EXPECTED THEY WOULD HAVE CHANGES TO MEET SOME OF THE CONCERNS RAISED BY THE EGYPTIANS.

7. SINCE OUR PURPOSE WAS TO ACHIEVE THIS KIND OF EXCHANGE RATHER THAN TO CONDUCT HARD NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH SADAT AND BEGIN WOULD HAVE TO BE INVOLVED, I BELIEVE WE ACHIEVED WHAT WE SET OUT TO DO. FOR THE EGYPTIANS, WITHDRAWAL, THE END OF OCCUPATION, AND SETTLEMENTS ARE CENTRAL PREOCCUPATIONS. FOR THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SECTO 08070 02 OF 02 192238Z

ISRAELIS, PEACE, SECURITY AND AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF SPECIAL RIGHTS FOR ISRAELIS AND FOR SECURITY IN THE WEST BANK/GAZA ARE THE KEY. THERE ARE COMMON ELEMENTS IN THEIR APPROACHES TO AN INITIAL FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, BUT THEY DIFFER FUNDAMENTALLY ON WHAT COMES THEREAFTER. WE HAVE A LOT OF HARD WORK AHEAD.
VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, WEST BANK, SECURITY, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, PEACE TALKS, NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY OCCUPIED AREAS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 07-19- 78
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978SECTO08070
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840153-1656
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780742/aaaabjmo.tel
Line Count: 216
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: eebdb370-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1955166
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LEEDS CASTLE TALKS
TAGS: OVIP, PBOR, MPOL, IS, EG, US, (DAYAN, MOSHE), (VANCE, CYRUS R), (KAMEL, MOHAMMED IBRAHIM)
To: STATE WHITE HOUSE MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/eebdb370-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014